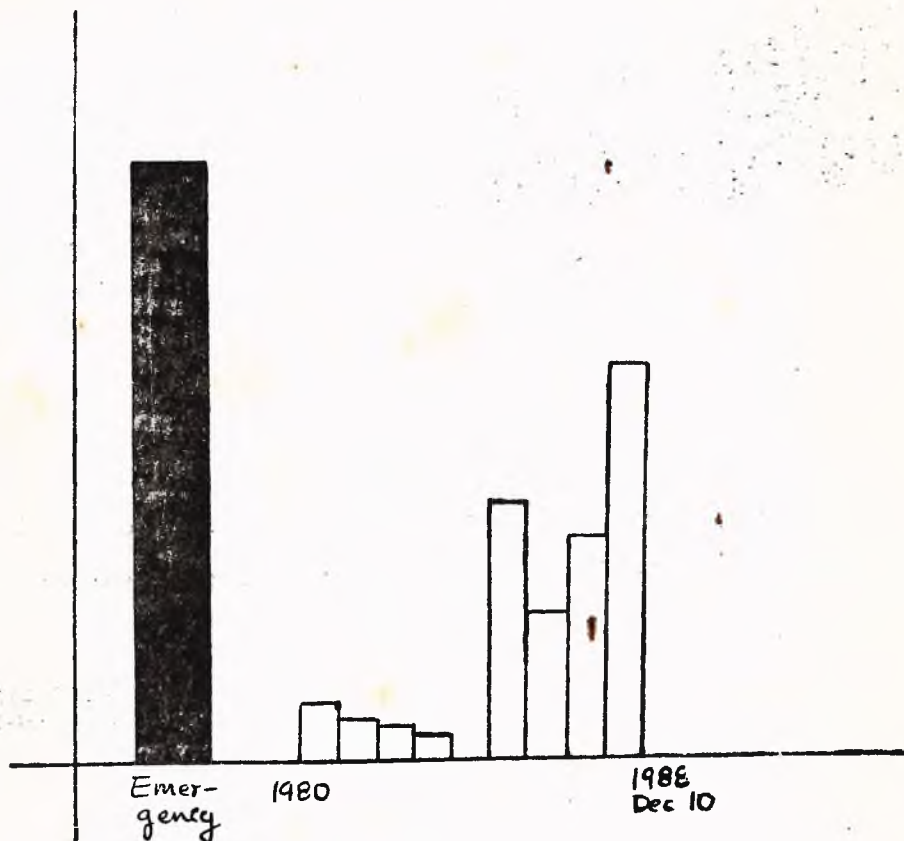


RIGHT TO LIFE IN NTR's ANDHRA

'Encounters' as State Policy



Andhra Pradesh

Civil Liberties Committee

(APCLC)

December 10 1988

On Record

We invite the naxalites, to give up violence and come unconditionally for talks..... However we cannot guarantee their safety.

N. T. RAMA RAO
Chief Minister

The naxalite problem is not a political but a law and order problem
My word is final in this regard. There is no question of having any talks with naxalites.

K. Sivaprasada Rao
Home Minister

Innocent tribals are being picked up and killed in the name of encounters.....
We are preparing a list to be submitted to the Chief Minister,

B, Janardhan, MLA
(Telugu Desam Party)
Chennur, Adilabad Dt.

December 10 1988

The killing of political activists in 'encounters' is not new to Andhra Pradesh. But at no time in the past has the rate of killing been as high as this year. By the end of November, that is to say during the first 11 months of this year, 52 alleged or real activists of the CPI-ML groups (4 of them women) have been killed in 'encounters'; in addition, another dozen of them have been killed without even the benefit of an 'encounter' story.

This number is to be compared with the 75 deaths in 'encounters' during the 18 months of the Emergency. The Emergency is a regime in which all the fundamental rights—including the right to life—are formally set aside. Today those rights are all formally intact and yet the rate of 'encounter' killings is significantly—about 13%—higher than during the Emergency, and if we include the people killed without announcing an 'encounter' it becomes much higher.

This comparison is meant only to underscore the depths to which State violence has sunk. But the true degeneration will be appreciated only when one analyses who the victims of the killings are. This leaflet contains a listing of the victims, giving the names wherever known, the date and the place of the killing, and what kind of person the victim was: an underground activist of a CPI—ML group (described as activist in our list), an activist of a legal mass organisation (peasant activist, student activist, etc), or just a tribal, a peasant, a labourer, student etc. It will be seen that while 13 of the 52—just 25 percent— are definitely known to be party activists (who are likely to carry weapons, and with whom a genuine 'encounter' is theoretically possible, though that is not to say that even these 13 are deaths in real 'encounters'), 17 of the 52 are tribals, 8 are peasants, 7 belong to an assorted category, and the nature of the remaining 7 is not known to us.

What lies behind these figures is a brutal policy of suppression. The 'encounters' are not the handiwork of 'trigger-happy policemen', but a deliberate policy of the Telugu Desam government. The TDP government is following a double tongued policy towards the CPI—ML groups. On the one hand the Chief Minister declares that he will invite the groups for talk, but in the next breath he adds that he cannot guarantee their safety if they choose to accept his invitation; in other words, as soon as they leave the discussion table they can be killed by his police at the gates of his office. The Home Minister, for his part, contradicts his leader's invitation for talks by declaring that all the CPI—ML groups in the State will be finished off within a year. The police are even less inhibited in their pronouncements. They openly talk of annihilating the CPI—ML cadre in fake 'encounters'. There is the story of an 'encounter' victim, S. Madhu of Warangal, who was killed in the early hours of 24th August this year. His mother met the S. P. of the district a couple of hours after her son was summoned to the Police Station on the 23rd. In reply to her query about her son's whereabouts, the S. P. told her: 'if you don't see your son by this evening, you will see his dead body by tomorrow'. In fact, she did not even get to see the

dead body; she only saw the charred remains after the Police cremated it. This is a telling but not an isolated instance. It is symptomatic of the brazenness with which the police have been setting about their task of annihilating the CPI—ML groups. There have been reports in the Press that the State is asking the Centre for certain unusual facilities for its police, which are normally available only to the army, the use of hand-grenades, for instance. While these facilities are yet to be given, the TDP government has extensively armed the State police with sophisticated machine guns, and supplemented these weapons with infrastructural facilities like motor vehicles wireless sets, etc. on a large scale. More than a battalion of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) has been borrowed in bits and pieces of one or two companies at a time over the last one year and deployed in the tribal tracts of Adilabad and East Godavari districts. A Special Task Force of unknown strength, consisting of plain clothesmen armed with machine guns and supplied with un-audited funds, has been set up under a D. I. G. of Police who acquired a special reputation for lawless functioning during his tenure as Superintendent of Police—Mr. K. S. Vyas. But more important than all such material facilities is the official sanction to torture, kill and flout all the laws and constitutional provisions in the execution of their appointed tasks.

And the task given to this Special Task Force—as well as the ordinary police, and the CRPF—must necessarily be inferred from what they are doing. And this is to kill not only those activists whom they can lay their hands upon, but also — and much more frequently — peasants, tribals, workers, students and unemployed youth who are suspected of sympathising with/harboursing CPI—ML cadre. It is these people who constitute the largest single category of victims of the State's violence: they are the ones that are killed in 'encounters', get arrested under the draconian Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), tortured in police stations, and have their houses and fields destroyed burnt and devastated. The policy of the TDP government is the same as that followed by all repressive states that are faced with 'armed militancy': terrorise the civilian population in order to isolate and suppress the militants. If that policy is condemnable when Jaya wardene uses it in Sri Lanka then it is equally so when N T, Rama Rao uses it in Andhra Pradesh, or Rajiv Gandhi in Punjab.

Neither APCLC nor any civil liberties organisation in this country supports or advocates violence by political groups. But we cannot keep quiet when the State starts indulging in large scale retaliatory violence in the name of suppressing 'extremism'. The State has no more right to violate the basic right to life than any private individual or political group. While in the latter case there exists some institutional remedy, in the former there is none. The people are helpless when the State, the guardian and the guarantor of rights, itself turns lawless and violates rights. Moreover, the fact that of the 52 victims of this year's 'encounters', 17 are tribals—and in addition, of the 13 whom we have categorised as activists, another 5 are also of tribal origin—should give all democratic-minded people enough cause for thought. Why has it become necessary for the government led by the person who has been elected Chairman of the Opposition's National Front to kill tribals in order to maintain 'law and order' in the State he rules? And why has it become necessary for his government to kill a woman like Poolamma of Warangal, who has for more than a decade led the completely lawful and democratic struggles of the tribals of the Mulug and Eturnagaram forest region for land and decent wages? What

is the record of this government or any government that has ruled this state or any other state in the country in the matter of implementation of land reform legislation or banning alienation of tribal land? We need not answer that. The record is dismal, and is further vitiated by the increasing concern for 'protecting' the rights of nontribals in tribal areas, and for 'protecting' the rights of the Forest Development Corporation and all those whom it serves. If the consequence of this neglect takes the form—rightly or wrongly—of political militancy, is the government justified in breaking the law; is it justified in infringing upon the people's right to life and liberty, in arresting, torturing and killing people in the name of 'suppressing extremism'? When the State that has treated with contempt every one of the Directive Principles that are supposed to guide its policy is faced with the social and political consequences of its neglect, is it justified in proclaiming these consequences as the excuse for a systematic policy of violation of every one of the civil liberties promised in Articles 19 and 21 of the Indian constitution, the fundamental freedoms of democracy and the fundamental rights of life and liberty?

Hyderabad
10th Dec. 1988

Andhra Pradesh
Civil Liberties Committee
(APCLC)

"ENCOUNTER" KILLINGS IN ANDHRA PRADESH - 1988

S.No	Date	Location	Name(s) of the Victim(s)	Background	Remarks
1.	2-1-88	Warangal	Vagari Subhash (25)	Unemployed youth	Arrested in Mutyalapalli village. Killed during 'interrogation'. Body thrown into fields near Kakatiya University campus.
2.*	First week of January	Hanmakonda Warangal Dt.	Baikshapathi	Peasant	Arrested in Mutyalapalli village. Tortured badly and his mutilated body was thrown into a well.
3.*	23-1-88	Hanmakonda Warangal Dt	Meghyam	peasant youth	Arrested along with the above two from Mutyalapalli village. Killed after prolonged torture. His body was strung on an electric transformer in the busy Hanmakonda cross roads, making it out to be a case of suicide.
4.	28-1-88	Near Satnala village Adilabad	Two unidentified persons (20-25)	Tribal (Goud) youth	Arrested while attending the annual festival at the Nagoba Temple. Later found dead after an alleged encounter.
5.	4-2-88	Madaram village Adilabad Dt.	One unidentified person (20-25)	Tribal (Goud) youth	Same as above.
6.	22-2-88	Gageteapally Adilabad Dt.	One unidentified person	Tribal (Goud) youth	Details not obtainable.
7.	26-2-88	Gurlampet Adilabad Dt.	One unidentified person	Tribal (Goud) youth	Details not obtainable.
8.	27-2-88	Unikicherla Warangal Dt.	Gurram Kumaraswamy (23)	Activist	Killed in an alleged encounter.

9.	23-4-88	Chinna Boinpalli Warangal Dt.	One Unidentified person (20-22)	Tribal (koya) youth	Details not obtainable.
10.	11-5-88	Warangal Town	Daggu Rayalingu & Santhosh Reddy	Activist PWD contractor	Police surrounded Santosh Reddy's house and fired at the residents, Killing Raya- linga and Santosh Reddy and seriously injuring two women, including an acti- vist called Madhavi
11.	14-5-88	Godawari Khani Karimnagar Dt.	Mekala Narasiah	Activist	Killed in a barber's shop while he was being shaved.
12.	15-5-88	Khanapur forest Adilabad Dt.	Tipparapu Sammaiah	Tribal (Goud) youth	Arrested tortured and killed.
13.	25-5-88	Yusufnagar, Karimnagar Dt.	Narasiah alias Mallesh	Peasant activist	Details not obtainable.
14.	26-5-88	Pinnaram, Adilabad Dt.	Two Unidentified persons	Tribal (Goud) youth	Details not obtainable
15.	27-5-88	Near Kagaznagar Adilabad Dt.	One Unidentified person	Un known	Details not obtainable
16.	27-5-88	Dharmaram, Karimnagar Dt.	Rikkala Sahadev Reddy (19)	Student Activist	Arrested in Sircilla town, tortured and killed
17.	13-6-88	Jangaon, Warangal Dt.	Sadanandan (15)	Peasant Activist	Taken from the village and killed
18.	23-6-88	Near Jagtial, Karimnagar Dt.	One Unidentified person	Peasant	Details not obtainable
19.*	4-6-88	Mangpeta, Karimnagar Dt.	A. Rajendar	Former Activist	Arrested from home tortured, face multi- lated with axes and killed

20.	19-7-88	Govindaram, Karimnagar Dt.	Golla Deviiah (23) & Potarala Bhoomian (27)	Peasant Activist	Arrest from home, tortured and killed.
21.	11-7-88	Pamulapaka, Vishakapatnam Dt.	Vithala Ramaha	Petty thief	Claimed to be a naxalite to gain respectability, but was killed in an 'encounter' in the process
22.	17-7-88	Gomuvada Vish- akapatnam Dt.	One Unidentified person	Unknown	Details not obtainable
23.	25-7-88	Warangal Town	Kodivendi Ravinder	Petty Shopkeeper	Arrested, tortured and killed
24.	26-7-88	Chintala tанда, Nizamabad Dt.	One Unidentified person	Unknown	Details not obtainable
25.	1-8-88	Kodisingi Visha- patnam Dt.	Vantala Sriramulu	Tribal (bagata)	Killed in random firing
26.	3-8-88	Jagtial Karimnagar Dt.	Puli Ramulu	Activist	Details not obtainable
27.	24-8-88	Hanmakanda Warangal Dt.	Sathu Madhu	Petty shop keeper	On receiving summons, he went to Madikonda Police Station, where he was arrested, tortured and killed
28.	13-9-88	Pothireddipolli, Karimnagar Dt.	Balaram	Activist	Details not obtainable
29.	14-9-88	Raghavapuram, Karimdagar Dt.	Rangula Sambiah	Peasant	Taken out of the village and killed
30.	30-9-88	Igbalpur, Adilabad dt.	One Unidentified person	Tribal (goud)	Details not obtainable
31.	3-10-88	Chintaguda, Adilabad dt.	Seshadasu & Madavi Somu	Tribals (goud)	Picked up tortured and killed

32.	4-10-88	Chichupalli, Adilabad dt.	One unidentified person	Tribal (goud)	Details not obtainable
33.	14-10-88	Muthapur, Warangal dt.	Lakshmiah & Vanta laxmi	Peasant activist Tribal (koya) womenunarmed,	Press reports confirm that ther were and than Laxmi was not a naxalite.
34.	18-10-88	Kuptighat, Adilabad dt.	One unidentified person & Murthy Rajaram (22)	Tribal (goud) youth	Picked up, tortured and killed
35.	27-10-88	Lingampet, Nizamabad dt.	Narayana Reddy & Balara ju	Uknown	Details not obtainable.
36.	29-10-88	Korpol Nizamabad dt.	Madiga Lachchiah	Peasant	Taken out of the village and killed
37.	29-10-88	Ravulapadu, East gadavari dt.	Podugu mangaraju alias Suranna & Seethakka	Activists	Killed in firing an a tribal gathering
38.	6-11-88	Karimnagar Town	Srikanth & Kumaraswamy	Activists	Killed while sleeping at home.
39.	7-11-88	Kannala, Karimnagar dt.	Two unidentified persons	Unkoown	Details not obtainable.
40.*	16-11-88	Bhongir, Nalgonda dt.	K. Srinivas (19)	Activist	Arrested by Plain clothesmen, taken to a hill top and shot dead.
41.	20-11-88	Jagammagudem, Warangal dt.	Poolamma alias Arunakka Yasoda & Mangamma	Peasant activist Peasant woman activist	A peasant meeting attacked by Police where these three were killed in cold blood.
42.	23-11-88	Chudumal, Nizamabad dt.	Ramachander & one unidentified person	Activists	Details not obtainable.

***Not officially declared to be Encounters.**

—: NOTE :—

**By activist we mean an underground cadre of the CPI—ML groups;
by student activist, peasant activist, etc, we mean a person who
works legally in the respective spheres.**

Statistics of 'Encounter' Killings in A. P.

upto the end of the Emergency

About 450

After the Emergency

1980	7
1981	5
1982	4
1983	3
1984	—
1985	34
1986	20
1987	29
1988	52 (Dec 10)

APPEAL

Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC) has been bringing to light and organising protest against violation of democratic rights of the people by the State for the last 14 years. In this effort we require the moral and material help of friends and sympathisers of the democratic movement. Many things which should be — and can be — done remain unattempted only because of the lack of such help.

K G. Kannabiran
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Secunderabad-500 026.